

MGIDHLANA KA MPANDE

<30.8.1903?>

File 60, nbk. 29, pp. 20-3.

20 Mpande's children - given by Mgidhlana ka Mpande.¹

<The symbol 'x' as used in the original of the list that follows was, it seems, Stuart's device to denote persons deceased, and the symbol 'o' his device to denote persons living, at the time of the interview. We have retained these symbols in our rendering of his lists - eds.>

Males

Of the Tulwana ibuto

- x Cetshwayo
- x Mbuyazi
- x Hamu
- x Tshonkweni
- x Mantantashiya
- x Somklawana - *follows Tshonkweni in age.*
- o Ziweddu - *of Cetshwayo's house. At Kwa Gqikazi.*²
- o Siteku - *really of the Nkonkoni regiment. At Mfemfe.*³

Of the Ndhlonhlo ibuto

- x Mdumba - *follows Mantantashiya in age.*

Of the Dhloko ibuto

- x Dabulamanzi
- o Tshingana
- x Sikota - *follows Somklawana in age.*
- x Dabulesinye
- x Tolo - *died after Ndondakusuka.*⁴

Of the Dududu ibuto

- x Silwana
- x Mlondo
- x Ngatsha
- x Msutu - *died last year.*
- x Mantenesa - *killed at Ndondakusuka.*

Of the Mbonambi ibuto

- x Ndabuko
- o Mtonga

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- x Mahanana
- o Mgidhlana
- o Magwendu
- o Mkungo

Of the Nokenke ibuto

- o Sukani
- x Mgxutsheni
- x Mpoyiyana - killed when Nomantshali, Mtonga's mother, was killed.⁵
- x Siga - died before being *butwa'd*. Would have belonged to Mbonambi regiment. *Followed Mantenesa in age.*

Females

Of the Ndhlovukayipendulwa, an ibuto of the princesses

- o Ndindela - possibly Mpande's first child. Of Mbuyazi's (house). Living with Siteku.
- o Sigayigayi - *followed in age* by Tshingana. At Emlambongwenya.⁶ Living with Tshingana.
- o Bekiwe - *of Cetshwayo's house*. Living at oSutu.⁷ Invalid - off her head.
- x Batonyile - *of Mbuyazi's house*. *Follows Mantantashiya in age.*

Of the Mkandandhlovu, an ibuto of the princesses

- x Mbixambixa - *of Cetshwayo's house*
- x Mbikose - *of Cetshwayo's house*. *Follows Ziwedu in age.*
- x Nomabunu - *of Cetshwayo's house*. At Kwa Gqikazi.
- o Nokwenda - *of Mbuyazi's house*. *Followed in age* by Nokwenda <sic>.
- x Sancinza - *of Mbuyazi's house*. *Follows Nokwenda in age.*
- o Budu - *follows Tshonkweni in age.*
- o Ngcobengcobe - *married among the Mdhlalose.*
- x Nomanxiwa - *of the great house, Cetshwayo's house.*
- o Mtabayi - at Mfemfe (Hamu).
- x Batabile - *of Mahanana's house.*
- o Ziwelile - *of Mgidhlana's house.*
- o Nqumile - *of Mgidhlana's house.*
- x Popoza - *of Mlondo's house.*
- o Ntutwane - was at Emvokweni but was sent to Emdumezulu.⁸
- o Hlayisiye - was of Ekuweleni. *Of Mbuyazi's house.*
- x Vukapi - died a young woman (qikiza).
- o Ntonjana - *of the great house.*

Mpande's wives

<In this list the names of sons and daughters are shown against the names of their mothers - eds.>

Ngqumbazi - Cetshwayo, Silwana, Ndabuko, Mbixambixa
Monase - Mbuyazi, Mantantashiya, Batonyile, Nokwenda, Mdumba, Mkungo, Sancinza

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Nozimbuku^a - Hamu
 Masala - Tshonkweni, Somklawana, Sikota, Budu
 Dabeka, *a daughter of Sonamuzi* - Ziwezu, Mbikose
 Mkana - Siteku
 Sanguza - Dabulamanzi
 Ndingindi - Tshingana, Sigayigayi
 Sifoko - Dabulesinye
 Mlanjana - Tolo
 Noziningo - Mlondo, Popoza
 Nomacala, *a daughter of Ziyankomo* - Ngatsha
A daughter of Lufico - Msutu's mother probably
A daughter of Lugaju - Mantenesa's and Siga's (mother, probably
 Nomantshali - Mtonga, Mpoyiyana^b
 Nomtobo, *a daughter of Somangqepu*^b - Mahanana, Batabile
 Mncangce, *a daughter of Tshandu* - Mgidhlana
 Nobelungu, *daughter of Dingiswayo* - Magwendu
 Simunu - Sukani
 Tengase, *a daughter of Mkowe* - Mgxutsheni
 Noziboto - Ntonjana
 Nomampondo - Ntutwane
A daughter of Mkanyile - Hlayisiye
 Mahlayisa, *a daughter of Zikwezile* - Ngcobengcobe
 Nomfula, *a daughter of Jojo* - Nomaxiwa
 Vungana, *a daughter of Qoza* - Ziwelile
 Mahlayisa, *a daughter of Mcombo* - Nqumile

^aNozibuku. Per Mmemi, 24.10.1904.

^bHer *sibongo* was Sicengce.

^cNote, as throwing light on derivation of word *umlungu*.⁹

^dSame name, different fathers.

(I forget the mothers of Vukapi, Ndindela, Bekiwe, Nomabunu, Mtabayi.)

22 <Praises of Shaka omitted - eds.>

Per Mgidhlana ka Mpande. '*Let the people at the umkosi arm themselves!*' *They pulled up sweet reeds (imfe)*. The *izinceku* did this. They pulled up *imfe sticks* (they did not cut them), and, holding these up, called out as stated at the *mkosi* time.

There was never any fighting when the *ceremony of the gourd* was done. This was a strange coincidence, but as this was when the king was called, no fighting ever took place.

All will wash - after the *ceremony of the gourd* everyone left to wash, all over the country and not only at the royal kraal.

23 The black *bull* which has been caught (at the *umkosi*) by the hands will be *struck* with an axe at the back of the head, *cut up* and eaten by *mat-bearers* who have not *reached puberty*, and what remains is all burnt.

2.9.1903

File 60, nbk. 30, pp. 1-4.

1 Per Mgidhlana.

Mpande could *recite praises* very well, also Tshonkweni. I learnt

from my father and old men. Mahanana also could *recite praises*, and Tshingana.¹⁰

.... <Praises of Senzangakona omitted - eds.>

- 3 Marole, father of Ntshingwayo, *herded cattle* with Senzangakona in the bush, i.e. where he met Nandi.¹¹

Ndikidi, alias Nomzinhlanga, was the eldest daughter and eldest child of Senzangakona; she was married to Myandela ka Mbiya.¹² Mafungwase, alias Nomcoba, also married Myandela.¹³ Nandi became a *junior wife* (*umlobokazi*) of Ndikidi's.¹⁴ Mafungwase, alias Nomcoba, *immediately followed Tshaka in age* and was Senzangakona's child.

Ngwadi was Gendeyana's son.¹⁵ Nomcoba was not Gendeyana's daughter.

I know Zulus are called amaNtungwa.¹⁶ We, I think, were named Zulus after Zulu ka Malandela. We are said to have *come down with a grain basket* (*ehla'd ne si lulu*).¹⁷

- 4 Qwabe ka Nozidiya - this may be his mother's name, but (people) also said Qwabe ka Malandela, and Zulu ka Malandela, but not Zulu ka Nozidiya.

I have heard that the cause of the quarrel between Zulu and Qwabe was the giving of a white cow to Zulu by Malandela's mother.¹⁸ Possibly Zulu was a younger son than Qwabe.

The Mpungose people have Mbango as chief, the son of Gaozi ka Silwana ka Ndhlovu ka Kuba.¹⁹ I think these people originally belonged to the Zulu tribe, for they had no *chief* of their own. [See what J. Dunn says in his book, p. 45.]²⁰

23.2.1912

File 54, nbk. 4, pp. 47-8.

- 47 Mgidhlana ka Mpande speaks.

The *upoko* incident. No one knew of this. Siteku, Hamu, etc. did not know of it. Cetshwayo never told me, and yet it became common talk. Sintwangu, the messenger sent, was not sent with a bag of *upoko* millet, but referred to it in conversation, whereupon Somsewu referred to the *hairs of a beast's hide*, and said Europeans were as numerous as such hairs.²¹

Batonyile, *who follows Mbuyazi in age*, Nokwenda, Sancinza, Ndindela, Hlayisile, Ngcobengcobe, Budu, *who follows Tshonkweni in age* - seven of them in all, all daughters of Mpande.²² All these were wanted by Somsewu to return to Natal to Mkungo.²³ Cetshwayo refused to give them up. It was believed they would be given over to Mbuyazi, who was still believed to be alive.

Usutu. *The name arose during a dispute, when my father was still alive. It was Mbuyazi and Cetshwayo who quarrelled.* Mpande directed them to *organize a hunt* (*inqina*) at Nhlungwane. *This was a bogus hunt* (*inqina mbumbulo*), so called by people, for *war-shields* were made, *large ones, when the dispute was beginning.*

- 48 The Zulu nation was not all called up; only the two *princes* were to go. The imiDhlenevu and inDhlondhlo regiments went, but did not *hunt*, because they found *the forces of the princes armed for battle.* So Mpande's two regiments returned and did not *hunt*. That *hunt* was

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(supposed to be) done with them - (but there was) no hunting.

Mpande then called them up to *upbraid* them for having armed. He made it up between them and directed Mbuyazi to come and build south of the Mhlatuze. C. followed up, saying, 'How comes it that a country is cut in two? There cannot be two chiefs in one land.'

The Usutu name arose at this *hunt*. [Cf. with what Colenso says in Ruin of Zululand.]²⁴

Nomantshali was the *favourite wife*. She was put to death by Cetshwayo's forces.²⁵

It is to me a matter of regret that Dinuzulu should have acted as he did during the rebellion, harbouring Bambata's wife and otherwise associating with Bambata.²⁶ I did not visit him, or I would have counselled him to be careful.

<5.6.1921. High Brae.>

File 57, nbk. 7, pp. 6, 10, 13, 14-15.

Also present: Maputwana, Mandhlakazi

- 6 Death of Nomantshali. Per Mgidhlana. [See next page for better version.]²⁷

*An impi was sent by Cetshwayo against Nomantshali, daughter of Sigulana of the Beleni people. He ordered that she and her son Mtonga were to be killed. But Mtonga escaped, as did I, Mgidhlana, his brother. We escaped to the Boers, where Hawana had his stronghold, at the place of Landelisa.*²⁸

A force of uSutu was sent with instructions to surround Emdumezulu (built at Kwa Sitshwili).²⁹ They found that she had escaped. They went on to the king at Nodwengu.³⁰ They upbraided him and told him to bring her out. The king said, 'Bring my assegai from the house so that I can kill myself.'

[Does not complete. See version next page.]

- 10 Rumours as to Mbuyazi being alive, per Mgidhlana and Mandhlakazi.

The rumour spread that Mbuyazi was alive.³¹ It was said that he had been taken across by the English, and that they would bring him back. Cetshwayo then said, 'Wo, Zulu, on the contrary; we of Mpande would die and rise again if it is said that Mbuyazi is alive.'

This was not said on any special occasion, merely after he had repeatedly heard the rumour to the effect that Mbuyazi was living.

- 13 Mgidhlana speaks. Ndevana of the Kanyile people was Cetshwayo's *imbongi* - dead.

- 14 Magolwana. I saw and heard him *recite praises* frequently at Nodwengu. He was medium height, *nsundu* (like me - dark brown); his stomach was rather large. His eldest sons were of the Ndhlonhlo regiment, hence I conclude he would have been of the Fasimba regiment. He was an *elderly man*. He *recited praises* at a medium rate.

Magolwana was first into action at the fight against Mzilikazi.³² Mahlongeni was another big imbongi. He spoke in a hoarse voice.

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.... <Praises of Shaka omitted - eds.>

- 15 Tshaka's *impi* surrounded the Bomvus at oPisweni.³³ We knew the Bomvus as amalala.³⁴ They had their cattle on top of the hill in a kraal having but one entrance. There are precipices or very steep ascents on all sides. Tshaka, finding the enemy in this stronghold, examined it and found that by putting ladders against *wild fig* trees his men could go up. So during the night this was done, and the men succeeded in getting up and emerged at the upper end of the kraal, i.e. on the far side of the one gate where the enemy were posted. The women then shouted out that Tshaka and his men had *entered their stronghold*. All the men ran and *tumbled over the cliffs*, and all the cattle came out and were captured. *There was no actual fighting*. The cattle came out of the gate with a rush.

Magolwana ate *tripe joined to the first stomach of a beast*.³⁵ He did not eat *lung* or *the second stomach*; the former went to the boys, the latter to those looking after the gate of the kraal. He used to *recite praises* at length when the cattle, *in such numbers that they formed a heap*, were killed, i.e. for the troops. These were so killed two or three times a month.

If a person had been *presented with a gift* he would *give praise*. The man *so favoured*, if the gift had come when he was at home, would come to *give praise*, and when he was half a mile off the kraal he would begin the praises and continue them some time after he had got to the part of the kraal he was making for. Hearing him *giving praise* thus in a loud voice, someone or other of those in the royal kraal would shout out, '*Mutsho!*', i.e. 'Give utterance to him,' i.e. declare his eulogies so that all may hear. And as soon as he had finished, some people then in residence at the kraal would take up the same theme, *(each) reciting praises* in his own way, and for the most part covering the ground already traversed by the former, though with slight variations and additions of his own.

7.6.1921

File 57, nbk. 7, pp. 16-17, 22-6.

Also present: Maputwana, Mandhlakazi

- 16 <Praises of Tshingana and Ndabuko omitted - eds.>

(Ndabuko) *followed in age after Silwana*, who followed after Cetshwayo. His mother was Ngqumbazi ka Mbondi ka Tshana of the Zungu people.³⁶

- 17 '*His words fill the mouth*' - said by Mandhlakazi of Mgidhlana ka Mpande when relating stories about the royal house of Zululand. That is, his talking is authoritative, final and so complete.

.... <Praises of Mbuyazi and Nandi omitted - eds.>

Nomzinhlanga, alias Ndikidi, was *borne by a girl of the Nzuza people*. She married Myandeya ka Mbiya of the Mtetwa people. Nomcoba also married him, i.e. Tshaka's sister.

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.... <Praises of Nomzinhlanga omitted - eds.>

Nomcoba was short in height and build, had a prominent forehead, was *dark-brown (nsundu)* in colour. She was as big as Sizile ka Jama, the *inkosikazi* at Ndabakawombe.³⁷

Nomzinhlanga, when on a visit to Nodwengu, e.g. *for the umkosi ceremonies*, would call out, '*Weh, Mpande!*' Mpande, in his hut, would *answer*, saying, '*Ndabezita!*'³⁸ People would then burst out laughing, taking it for a joke.

22 *Praising the ancestors* at the kings' graves.

Mgidhlana says that *in time of drought* the king would direct that *praising (tetaing)* be done at each of the royal graves in the Makosini district and so *ask for rain*.³⁹ For this purpose a number of black oxen would be driven to the Makosini district and then to the vicinity of each grave in turn, where they would halt whilst the king in question was *praised* and a chant sung by the assembled troops, the ceremony being in charge of a principal *induna*. The small herd of cattle would then be driven to the next grave, where the same ceremony would be observed. And so on with regard to the other graves. After these various visits had been completed, the *induna* would come to the Mfolozi and there wash, and thereafter distribute the said oxen among the royal kraals, two or three going to each. One beast would be nominated as for one of the departed kings, another for another king, and so on. The cattle so assigned would be driven off to the various kraals and there slaughtered sacrificially and consumed. These cattle are known as *those of the ancestral spirit (e zo mzimu)*.

23 Now the graves of Mageba, Nkosinkulu, Punga, Ndaba, Jama, and Senzangakona are all in one area, known as Emakosini, and each king was 'planted' in the kraal he occupied when he died, i.e. his principal kraal.⁴⁰ Hence when we talk of the graves of the above, we mean that they are situated on the sites of old royal kraals.

In this connection I referred to the lines:

*Vezi, people will die, but their praises will remain,
Will remain and mourn for them where their homes used to be,*⁴¹

and said this may have originated from this very custom of coming to each king's grave and there shouting out his praises, chanting etc. Mgidhlana agreed that this may be the very origin of that couple of lines.

Mandhlakazi says that whoever happened to pass the grave of a king used to stand and recite that king's eulogies. And women, especially the old, better informed, did likewise. This, for instance, occurred in regard to Tshaka's grave at Dukuza (Nyakamubi).⁴²

<It is not made clear in the original whether the two pages of evidence that follow were given by Mgidhlana or by Mandlakazi - eds.>

24 The king was buried where he died. Hence Makosini is not a graveyard, but a collection of *old kraal sites*. It seems that when a king died he would be buried in his own kraal. The inmates of the kraal would continue there for a time, then shift to re-erect the kraal on

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another site, leaving the king, however, to be looked after by the head of a small kraal put up in the immediate neighbourhood, whose duties would be to burn the grass round about the grave so as to leave isolated a patch of four or five acres on which the grass or trees were never burnt. Presently a grove would grow up there, as for instance in regard to Cetshwayo's grave near the Mome at Nkandhla.

Nkosinkulu's grave was near the great gate of Mgunundhlovu kraal, there being a euphorbia tree there in Dingana's day.

Izimbongi: Findi (son of Tshingana), a policeman at court, Durban; Pika ka Siteku, now in Durban, works at Kwa Muhle.⁴³

Ndengezi ka Kuzwayo - a great warrior.

25 Ndengezi was the son of Kuzwayo of the *Mdhlalose* people. He was a great warrior. Tshaka, some great conflict being imminent, possibly against Zwide, promised that the man who led the way in battle would be given enough cattle to fill a gully, so many that a stick placed on their backs would not fall to the ground as they moved. Ndengezi led the way in the fight. Tshaka duly gave him cattle. Ndengezi refused to accept them, saying, 'They are not as many as the king promised. He said they would fill a gully, and that a stick placed on their backs would not fall to the ground.' That is why he refused them. Tshaka replied, 'Ndengezi, were you the only man fighting for me, that you refuse so many cattle? Go and die in the wilderness. I do not want to kill you for refusing so many cattle, because you fought for me.'

So Ndengezi went off, making for Emdhlazi, for the Mpondo country.⁴⁴ When he came to the country south of the *Tukela* (i.e. in Natal), he 'ate up' the cattle of some kraals of *amaLala*. They raised the alarm against him. He took up his arms and his war-shield; he put on his warrior's headband; he then drove off the *impi* which had come to surround him. Alone he drove it back. He never returned.

He told his children to remain in the Zulu country. This they did.

Per Mgidhlana. There is a rumour that Tshaka killed his mother for secreting a child of his. But she was not killed by him. He may have set an *inyanga* on her. And this *inyanga*, adds Mandhlakazi, may have given her medicine made from the *umdhlebe* bush which causes blood to flow from one's nostrils as well as from the ear. The story goes that he went off to hunt elephants at the *Mfolozi*; this would support the theory, for whilst away the doctor would find a way of administering the deadly *umdhlebe* medicine or other virulent poison. Mgidhlana knows nothing of the stabbing theory, and thinks Tshaka would not have taken that course.⁴⁵

26 Senzangakona's mother was a girl of the *Sibiya* people, at the place of *Gazu*. Her name was Mtaniya ka Zingelwayo of the *Sibiya* people.

8.6.1921

File 57, nbk. 7, pp. 28-30.

Also present: Maputwana?

28 Mgidhlana. Ndaba's mother was Bayeni of the *Mbata* people. Hence she was Punga's wife. I do not know Ndaba's praises.⁴⁶

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There was the site of a small kraal at (the grave of) Nkosinkulu. No bird sitting on the *euphorbia* was ever aimed at with stick or stone. Mgidhlana throws no light on Nkosinkulu's genealogical tree.

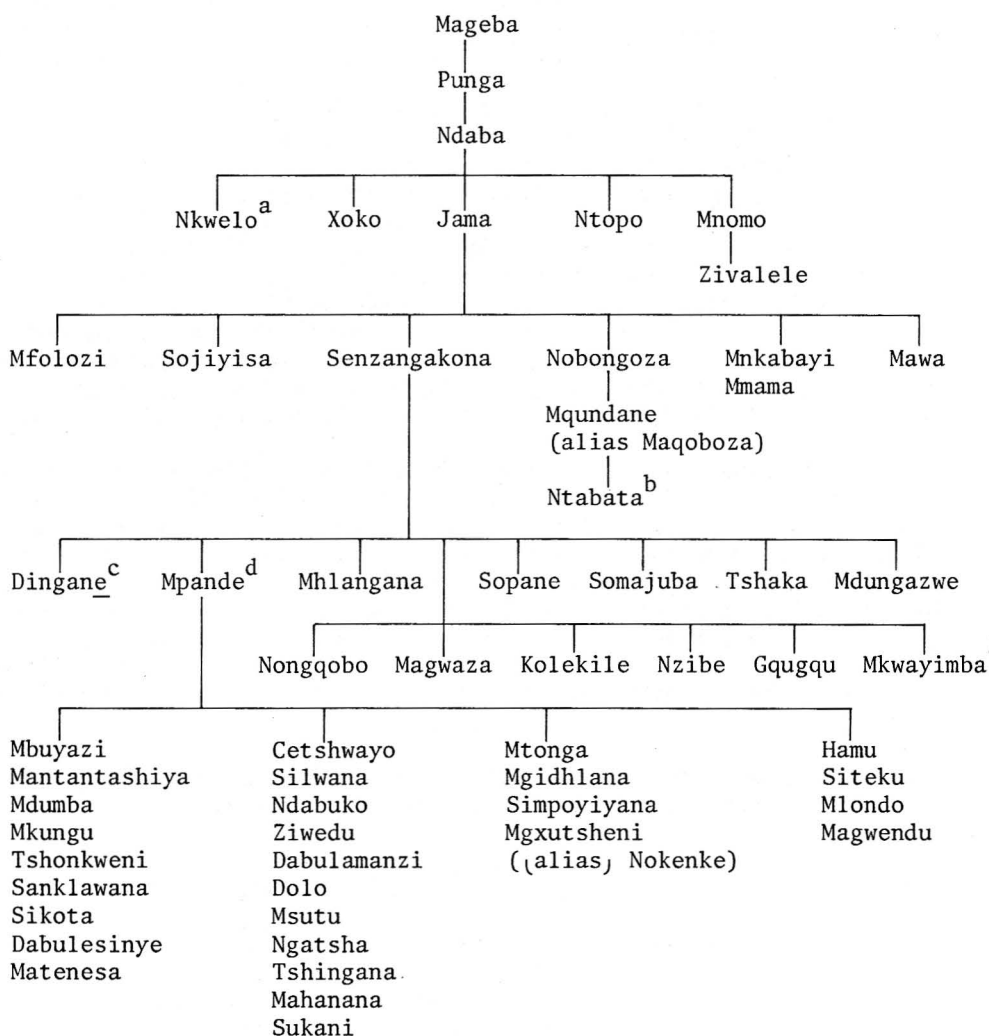
Dingana's mother was Mpikase of the *Qungebeni* people. I fancy that her father was Myilela. I feel sure of this. I do not know Jama's mother's name.

Ndaba's kraal was Emqekwini (Umqeku). The Isiklebe separated off from *Nobamba*. The Isiklebe was Senzangakona's kraal. Nobamba may have been erected by Ndaba; I am not quite sure, but I think it was built by him.

- 29 Nomantshali - 'Somapa, thigh that becomes the centre of attraction!' ⁴⁷

Monase was mother of Mbuyazi - Monase ka Mntungwa of the *Nxumalo*. [For continuation of Mgidhlana's evidence, see p. 30.]

- 30 Per Mgidhlana ka Mpande. Compare this with Mangati's version. ⁴⁸



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- ^a*Left-hand house (ikohlo)*. Ndhlovu, Mruyi etc. make this man son of Jama, but Mgidhlana puts him as here set forth.⁴⁹
^bMay have left no issue.
^cNo issue.
^dThe sons of Mpande are arranged under their four principal heads.

[Hoye ka Soxalase says (15.9.1921): Biyela, Mgazi, Mdhlalose, and Ntombela were sons of Zulu ka Malandela.]⁵⁰

- 29 Mgidhlana, with Maputwana and a young man, also a *mat-bearer* boy, leave by train (9.30 a.m.) this morning for Pietermaritzburg, where Mgidhlana wishes to see the Chief Native Commissioner (Wheelwright) re land question, near oNgoye.⁵¹ Mgidhlana lives above oNgoye, not far from the Mhlatuze and a good bit below where Mkungu lived, i.e. he lives far down the Dhlayangubo ridge.

Notes

- ¹A photograph of Mgidhlana taken in 1923 is reproduced in Faye, *Zulu References*, p. 44. He was still living in 1928, when, according to Lugg, *Life under a Zulu Shield*, pp. 56-7, he was aged about 95.
²A Zulu royal *umuzi*.
³A Zulu royal *umuzi*.
⁴I.e. the battle fought in December 1856 between the forces of Cetshwayo and his brother Mbuyazi who were competing for the succession to the Zulu kingship.
⁵Nomantshali kaSiguyana (Zigulana) of the Ntuli people was a wife of Mpande and mother of Mpoyiyana and Mthonga, who were regarded by Cetshwayo as among his rivals for the succession to the Zulu kingship. Nomantshali and Mpoyiyana were killed by a party of Cetshwayo's adherents in March 1861.
⁶A Zulu royal *umuzi*.
⁷A Zulu royal *umuzi*.
⁸A Zulu royal *umuzi*.
⁹*Umlungu* is the Zulu word for white person.
¹⁰Shonkweni (Tshonkweni), Mahanana, and Shingana (Tshingana), like the informant Mgidhlana, were sons of Mpande.
¹¹Bryant, *Olden Times*, p. 65, gives Mahole as a 'servant' of Senzangakhona. Ntshingwayo was a commander of the Zulu forces in the Anglo-Zulu war of 1879. The reference is to the first meeting between Shaka's parents, Senzangakhona and Nandi, a girl of the eLangeni people.
¹²Of the Mthethwa people. Cf. Bryant, *Olden Times*, pp. 46-7.
¹³Nomcoba was a daughter of Nandi. There is some doubt as to her paternity.
¹⁴*Umlobokazi* means 'young wife - applied to such from the time of her having first put on the top-knot...until she passes her prime as a wife' (Bryant, *Dictionary*, pp. 359-60). There is clearly a confusion of identities in the original. Nandi, a wife of Senzangakhona, would not have become junior wife in Myandeya's homestead to a daughter (Ndikidi) of one of her own co-wives. For 'Nandi' one should presumably read 'Mafungwase, alias Nomcoba'.
¹⁵Ngwadi's mother was Nandi. Gendeyana lived among the Qwabe. There is

- dispute about the claim that he married Nandi and fathered Ngwadi.
- ¹⁶For discussion of the term Ntungwa see Bryant, Olden Times, pp. 8 ff, 233 ff; Marks, 'The traditions of the Natal "Nguni"', in Thompson, ed., African Societies, ch. 6; Marks and Atmore, 'The problem of the Nguni', in Dalby, ed., Language and History in Africa, pp. 120-32; Stuart Archive, vols. 1 & 2, index.
- ¹⁷The historical connotations of this phrase are uncertain and a subject of debate. See Bryant, Zulu People, pp. 20-2, and Dictionary, p. 365; Doke and Vilakazi, Dictionary, p. 467.
- ¹⁸Cf. Bryant, Olden Times, pp. 19-20; Stuart Archive, vol. 2, p. 255.
- ¹⁹Mbango was chief of the Mpungose in the Eshowe and Mtunzini districts.
- ²⁰The reference is to D.C.F. Moodie, John Dunn, Cetywayo and the Three Generals, Pietermaritzburg, 1886.
- ²¹Stuart is here inquiring into the origins and validity of a well-known but apparently apocryphal story. Cetshwayo is reputed to have sent a bag of seed to the Natal government with the boast that the Zulu people were as numerous as the seeds which it contained, whereupon Natal's Secretary for Native Affairs, Theophilus Shepstone (Somsewu), is supposed to have sent back to the Zulu king a beast's hide, with the warning that the English were as numerous as the hairs on it. Sitheku and Hamu were brothers of Cetshwayo; Sintwangu was a prominent Cele chief in the Zulu kingdom.
- ²²Mbuyazi was one of Mpande's senior sons.
- ²³Mkhungo was a son of Mpande. After the rivalry between Cetshwayo and Mbuyazi for the succession to the Zulu kingship had culminated in the former's victory at Ndondakusuka in 1856, Mpande secretly placed Mkhungo in the care of Bishop J.W. Colenso in Natal.
- ²⁴The name uSuthu came to be applied to Cetshwayo's adherents. Stuart's reference is to Frances Colenso, The Ruin of Zululand, vol. 2, London, 1885, pp. 384-5, where she describes how the name originated.
- ²⁵Nomantshali, wife of Mpande and mother of Mthonga, a potential rival of Cetshwayo, was killed by the latter's adherents in March 1861.
- ²⁶The reference is to the disturbances that took place in Natal in 1906. Bhambatha kaMancinza of the Zondi people was an important rebel leader. Cetshwayo's son Dinuzulu, at that time chief of the uSuthu section of the Zulu, was found guilty of treason by a Natal court in 1908, and sentenced to four years' imprisonment.
- ²⁷The reference is to an account of Nomantshali's death given by Mandlakazi kaNgini. This appears in Stuart Archive, vol. 2, pp. 189-90.
- ²⁸Hawane of the Zwana people had a stronghold east of present-day Utrecht near Nkambule hill in the time of Shaka.
- ²⁹UmDumezulu (loc. emDumezulu) was an *umuzi* of Mpande where Nomantshali lived. KwaSitshwili was a plain near the uluNdi *umuzi*.
- ³⁰KwaNodwengu was Mpande's principal *umuzi*.
- ³¹I.e. after the battle at Ndondakusuka in which Mbuyazi was supposed to have been killed.
- ³²Historians disagree as to the number and dates of the attacks made by the Zulu on the Ndebele under Mzilikazi in the 1830s: see Bryant, Olden Times, pp. 429-30, 435-6; Lye, 'The Ndebele kingdom', Journal of African History, vol. 10, 1969; Cobbing, 'The Ndebele under the Khumalos', pp. 26, 33, 38; Rasmussen, Migrant Kingdom, pp. 85-9.
- ³³Ophisweni is a mountain fifteen kilometres south-east of the junction of the Thukela and the Mzinyathi.
- ³⁴For discussion of the term Lala see the references as for note 16 above.

- ³⁵In order to increase his powers of memory. Cf. Mandlakazi kaNgini's statements in Stuart Archive, vol. 2, pp. 176, 187.
- ³⁶Ndabuko and Silwane were sons of Mpande. Ngqumbazi was mother of both Ndabuko and Cetshwayo.
- ³⁷KwaNdabakawombe was a Zulu royal *ikhanda*. Jama was father of Senzangakhona.
- ³⁸'*Ndabezitha!*' was a salute reserved for royalty.
- ³⁹The emaKhosini area, literally 'the place of the chiefs', was the heartland of the Zulu kingdom south of the middle reaches of the White Mfolozi and below the emThonjaneni ridge.
- ⁴⁰The names are those of ancestral Zulu chiefs.
- ⁴¹The original reads:
Vezi, ku yof' abantu, ku sal' izibongo
Izona zi yo sala zi balelel' emanziweni.
 Vezi was one of Dingane's praise-names. The lines are from his *izibongo*.
- ⁴²Near present-day Stanger.
- ⁴³The native administration offices of Durban municipality.
- ⁴⁴Emdlazi was an *umuzi* of the Cele chief Magaye near the Mhlali river south of present-day Stanger.
- ⁴⁵Nandi died in August 1827. For H.F. Fynn's account of her death see his Diary, pp. 132 ff.
- ⁴⁶Ndaba and Phunga were ancestral Zulu chiefs.
- ⁴⁷Cf. Nomantshali's praise as given by Mandlakazi kaNgini in Stuart Archive, vol. 2, p. 191.
- ⁴⁸The genealogy that follows is of the Zulu royal house. Mangathi's version is reproduced in Stuart Archive, vol. 2, pp. 210-11.
- ⁴⁹Mhuyi (Mruyi) and Ndlovu (Ndhlovu) were others of Stuart's informants. The statements which he recorded from them will appear in a subsequent volume of the Stuart Archive.
- ⁵⁰Hoye was another of Stuart's informants. The main body of his evidence appears in vol. 1 of the Stuart Archive. He here seems to be identifying collateral members of the Zulu chiefly house who founded independent chiefdoms.
- ⁵¹Charles Wheelwright was Chief Native Commissioner for Natal and Zululand from 1916 to 1928.